

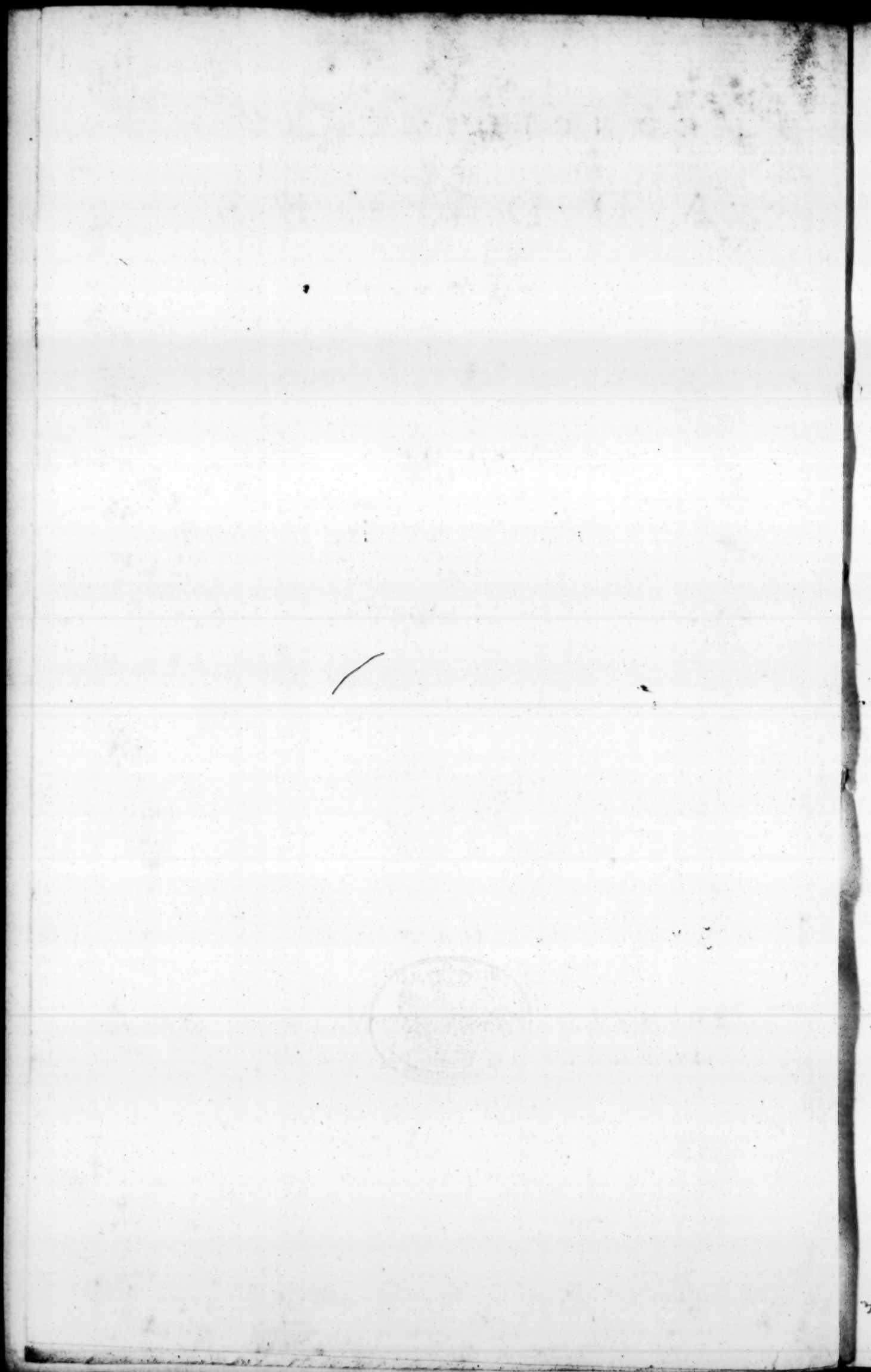
Trade in America 18.

CONCILIATORY
ADDRESS
TO THE
PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND OF
THE COLONIES,
ON THE PRESENT IMPORTANT CRISIS.



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C O N C I L I A T O R Y

A D D R E S S, &c.

IF ever it behoves every member of the community to throw in his little mite in aid of public welfare, it is surely when a crisis arises, which in all human probability must decide of the happiness and prosperity of the whole empire, and of the endless generations which future ages shall bring forth within its extensive and growing dominions. Temporary interests however great, the momentary extension of this or that commerce, the sovereignty of a town or province, usual objects of the fluctuating ambition of kings and nations, the experience of ages shews to be oftener decided by a variety of unforeseen chances, than by the exertions of human prudence and sagacity. In spite of infidelity itself, every thinking man must own that providence claims to itself the

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supreme disposal of events; but tho' it sports with the ill-founded, and inconstant projects of ambition, it ever stamps with proportionate success, the sober institutions of sound and steady policy. The duration of the Roman Empire, still more than its magnitude, claims our admiration. That splendor which for ages it displayed, was owing to its first foundations having been laid in maxims of judicious policy, which the usual mutability of events could only accidentally retard or accelerate, but which in time were necessarily to bring forth their proper fruit. Its decadence long after the overthrow of the Republic, as well as that overthrow itself, had its cause in the gradual subversion of those principles long preceding that catastrophe. In the present important juncture, Great Britain must probably decide, whether her power and glory shall be circumscribed within the comparatively narrow limits of a modern monarchy, subject to their short paroxysms of strength and weakness; or whether she shall rival antient Rome,

Rome, both in extent, importance, and duration of Empire. This elevated and permanent height of power and prosperity, is not to be attain'd by persevering discipline, arms and conquest, but by the prudence and wisdom of one single determination, which must now lay foundations never, perhaps, hereafter to be repaired, or enlarged. Shall not then the great alternative, which Providence now submits to the decision of our wisdom or our folly, rouse the attention of every Briton, whose breast is warmed by the interest and glory of his country. In such a crisis, that country has a claim to the exertion of all our talents: none are excluded or exempt, as from the smallest she may sometimes profit; and from obscure hands she has not unfrequently received important hints.

Ministers of state, who by having a nearer view of all the springs which actuate the political machine, and access to every source of information, ought to be the most competent judges, are often, by the condition

dition of humanity (tho' otherwise wise and honest) too much warped by the tide of events, and heated by untoward accidents and opposition, to be absolutely impartial, From those who are deeply, and personally interested, or who have manifestly private views to serve, temperate and dispassionate reasoning is scarcely to be expected; it is from the aggregate wisdom of the nation, slow in taking part, slower still in finally pronouncing, we should wait an equitable decision of the great question now before it. Attentive to, and desirous of every information, this impartial judge will receive with candour, if not with approbation, the offerings even of an obscure and unknown hand, when dictated by an honest and well-meaning heart.

Seldom do dissensions arise to any height between neighbouring powers, and still more seldom amongst fellow citizens, but prepared and fomented by false steps and excesses on both sides. Difficult it is indeed to commit no faults, but still more so
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to retract them. This however, is the arduous task expected, and no doubt feared, by attentive Europe, from a nation looked up to as a model of generosity and wisdom. Let us then endeavour to deserve and maintain that character. If the sons, both of European and American Britain, have occasionally swerved from the strict rule of right in the support of that wise constitution, and that just and well founded liberty, of which they are equally enamoured, let them both now, ere it is too late, measure back those hasty steps, and forgetting the mutual provocations of unguarded anger, coolly and candidly give attention, not to what each may have occasionally asserted as its peculiar right, but to what shall most effectually preserve to each the full enjoyment of all rights consistent with the general welfare of a free Government; and most permanently cement an union, on which depends the happiness and prosperity of all. Let Great Britain in particular, who owns a mother's fondness for her sons, shew the persevering and sedate firmness

ness of a tender parent, and with all the power to punish or give the law, generously rest upon her arms, to speak the language of reason and of candour. This nation is too great, too nearly allied in blood to America, not to overlook the frivolous discussion of points of honour with those her own offspring; whom, though she has more than once seen froward, she has ever yet found amenable to duty, by reason, and the strong pleadings of natural affection. If they are forgetful of those ties, and unmindful of her past favours, let her magnanimity rouse the latent sparks of gratitude; and may the pride of owning such a mother, at length inspire them with kindred sentiments of moderation and generosity. Some amongst them, hurried away by the factious spirit of a very few individuals, either at home or abroad, have carried their resistance to outrageous lengths; and it is affirmed, that the honour of the British nation requires such open and seditious disobedience to be attoned for by the most implicit submission. Let that honour be maintained unspotted,
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or avenged to the utmost bounds of nicety when violated by alien hands ; but will it not still more become the dignity and character of a parent state, conscious of power and right to punish, to calm by gentle, tho' resolute measures the temporary frenzy of her deluded, but ere long repenting children ? If yet they should continue deaf to the voice of nature and of reason, unwilling long delayed severity will come with double force. Let us now, unbiaſſed by partiality, or the pride of primogeniture, conſider how far the unlimited claims of authority we have occaſionally, and perhaps as it were mechanically aſſerted, are founded in juſtice and in truth, how far their complaints are back'd by reaſon and propriety.

Parliament has in general terms reſolved its authority ſupreme over every part of the Britiſh dominions ; but does not reaſon, policy, and the ſpirit of the conſtitution ſomewhere ſet bounds to that omnipotence ? Legislation it is ſaid neceſſarily implies the
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power of taxation : but should not the proposition rather stand thus ? Government, and in that is comprehended that body which alone can exercise its full powers, implies a right of aid for its support from all who are protected by it. Whilst Wales, Chester, Durham, tho' within the realm, remained unincorporated, the English Parliament imposed not internal taxes on their property. That right was in their own peculiar legislatures. It may have been occasionally invaded in the unsettled state of things in those tumultuous times ; but was ever claimed and frequently acknowledged. This I think has been sufficiently proved from authentic records ; and it was not till they were severally admitted to a share in the general legislature, that the Acts of an English Parliament avowedly extended to their lands, or immediate properties. The Americans insist, that not being represented in the British Parliament, it cannot consistently, with the fundamental principles and spirit of the constitution, impose taxes on their still more distinct and separate provinces.

vinces. To this it is answered, that out of 6 or 7 millions of British inhabitants, not more than 3 or 400,000 are represented by delegates of their choice and election. Whether or no our constitution is not in that particular defective may be a doubt; but supposing that usage as rational as it is ancient, truth will still point out an essential difference with regard to the Americans. The representatives of this island, though chosen by a part only of its inhabitants, cannot lay any imposition on the non-electing, ever closely connected by innumerable ties with the electing part, without including their immediate constituents. The distance and peculiar local situation of our colonies admit not of such interwoven interests, nor of such universality in the mode or burthen of taxation: impartial reason therefore must decide, that they are not like the inhabitants of this island either really or virtually represented in the British Parliament, and the spirit of the constitution will in consequence pronounce that their internal property ought not to be subject

to its taxation. I shall not however, take upon me, even on these grounds, to assert the absolute exemption of our American colonies from parliamentary taxation by any explicit laws, or perhaps even implication of the laws of Great Britain : it may be made an abstruse and subtle question, and such are more apt to induce into error than to lead to truth : but I will presume, that every honest Englishman will freely give it his concurrence if it should appear due by the still more infallible and revered laws of equity. But whilst justice shews that the mode of taxation should not be prescribed by those who, besides being incompetent judges of its propriety, are not either in themselves or immediate constituents equally affected by it, it at the same time loudly proclaims that all and every part of the dominions protected by Government, are in equal duty and obligation bound to contribute a proportional share to its support : as evidently does it demonstrate that it cannot, ought not to be in the option of any part of them to withhold or diminish at will
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their just quota. Shall America pretend to enjoy the fruits both of past and present support, and yet remain at liberty to give or not to give her contingent aid? No, with such reserves no social compact can subsist. The British Parliament by the repeal of the Stamp Act, which in other respects is certainly one of the fairest and least oppressive taxes, has tacitly avowed its incompetency at least to impose internal taxations on its distant dominions; but it at the same time * indefinitely declared its authority supreme. America absolutely denying its right to impose such taxes, has as indefinitely allowed its supremacy, at the same time declaring her readiness to concur

* On the repeal of the Stamp Act, Parliament, I apprehend, in such general terms only resolved its supremacy, which the Americans not unreasonably looked upon as a tacit renunciation of that power which they had in that Act principally and avowedly opposed. Thus deceived as it were, no wonder they should now reject its declaratory right to that power. Had it then been meant to be inviolably maintain'd, that repeal should have been conditional on their explicitly acknowledging it: on the contrary their assemblies openly denied it afresh, and no notice was taken of that their public declaration.

concur in raising a just proportion of expences for the maintenance of that Government which must superintend, regulate and support the whole weight of the British empire. In these indefinite assertions, liable on the part of Great Britain to every extension, on the part of America to further restrictions, lay the unhappy seeds of future contest and eternal dispute. On each side there is a rule of right, which may, which ought to be clearly ascertained, and for the preventing such easily foreseen mischiefs, explicitly defined. Inflamed by seditious spirits America has since swerved beyond those due bounds, which in her soberer moments she had herself acknowledged. Is there no hope left that she will again resume a spirit of moderation? Time will, I hope, shew that there are yet no inconsiderable members amongst them unseduced by faction. Britain in the repeal of the Stamp Act has shewn her the first example; let her not be ashamed of again taking the lead where reason and justice point the way. Let her define the true limits

limits of that supremacy she justly claims. However dangerous it may be in others, such definition is consonant to the spirit of our happy constitution. Let her acknowledge the mode of taxation prescribeable only by the true representatives of the people to be taxed, such as in so doing really include themselves and immediate constituents. Let America own that supremacy of legislative and regulating power, extending to every other object, which reason and sound policy concur in shewing, necessary somewhere, and with propriety only lodged in the legislature of the parent country, who can alone can give life and activity, as it at various times gave being to the whole. But let her too own her absolute, invariable obligation of contributing her share to the general exigencies of the State. Let that proportion be settled both with respect to her present and future growing abilities, and ever remain as the bond and cement of equitable union. When such a proportion is here mention'd, the Colonies need not apprehend that generous Britain will scrupulously

pulouſly deal out to them ſuch a ſhare of that immenſe burthen, tho' great part of it incurred in their defence, under which ſhe labours, as might in rigour be exacted from their abilities. Tho' ſuch a proportion might be ſtrictly juſt, ſhe knows it would be impoſitic, as well as cruel, to check their growing ſtrength. But altho' thus tender of their intereſts, ſhe muſt not forever ſaddle herſelf with ſuch a load as muſt in time bear no ſemblance of equality. The internal abilities of Great Britain, and by ſuch alone internal taxes muſt be borne, will poſſibly in the ſpace of another hundred years be increaſed one fourth; but in the ſame ſpace of time, thoſe of her American Colonies will in all probability be enlarged at leaſt tenfold. The impracticability of fixing a rule, as well in future as in preſent, proportional to the varying ſtate of theſe ſo differently circumſtanc'd parts of the Empire will be alledged. Difficult it perhaps may be, but not impoſſible. To evince this, my readers will permit me to lay before them a plan, which tho' I do not preſume
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the best, will be at least sufficient to shew, that some standard may be hit upon on which to establish a lasting and unalterable compact. Let us suppose that the colony A is now in the possession of six millions of acres of improv'd and cultivated lands, or woods bearing profit to the proprietors, and that its present internal abilities are rated at 6000l. for every million, which Great Britain now raises on her internal funds by land, malt, house and window tax, &c. If it appears at the expiration of twenty five years, that the said colony shall have extended its cultivation to nine millions of acres, then it shall pay for the like ensuing term 9000l. for every million so levied by the mother country: thus enlarging its aid every twenty five years in some proportion at least to its advanced abilities. Such a term will on an average have certainly repaid the primary expences of clearing and improvement to the colony before any additional supply becomes due. No increased charge will fall upon the old inhabitants, and the new will already be able

able to bear their share. I should likewise propose that the quit rents of sixpence per acre, which are, or ought to be paid to the Crown for all lands in America, be carried towards the national supply, included however in the proportion of each colony; for which Parliament to make a proper compensation to the civil list. It is an accustom'd and an easy charge, and if duly levied, which it would more likely be when become part of the public revenue, may in time become no inconsiderable supply, perhaps much larger than we have at present any idea or apprehension of. From neglect or pretended exemptions it is probably at present far below the real mark, which however, by exact surveys ascertaining the quantity of granted lands in each Province, might with great ease be remedied. Whatever it is, or ought to be at present, it would not be very unreasonable to suppose that, with such a growing population, cultivation may be extended on that extensive continent to sixty millions of acres within the space of half a century. For

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the encouragement of settlers, the nation will find it perhaps not inexpedient to reduce it to three pence *per* acre on new grants for a limited term of years, provided such grants do not exceed two hundred acres. Extensive grants retard instead of accelerating cultivation, and therefore deserve no such relief. The rates of postage too, the regulation and management of which is of general concern to the whole community, should be continued a public revenue unsubjected to the authority of the provincial assemblies. By those two branches of already accustom'd revenue, and the further proportional aid proposed above to be levied by internal taxation, by such modes only as to the several assemblies shall seem meet, our American fellow subjects to stand acquitted to the mother country of that debt of subsidy, which they in reason and justice owe to the general support of Government, which should from that time take upon itself the payment of stipulated and adequate salaries to the Governors, Judges, Treasurers, and others his Majesty's

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jeſty's ſervants in the ſeveral Colonies. Having thus diſcuſſed the moſt material ſubject of conteſt, the right of internal taxation, and the right of proportional ſubſidy, and offered ſome means, tho' they are not preſumed the beſt poſſible, of reconciling them, let us now with the ſame impartiality examine the other grievances of which our American fellow ſubjects complain.

As it is only ſince they have been heated by contention, that they have diſputed the right of the Britiſh legiſlature, which never will be induced on any conſideration, to part with the dominion of the ſeas, to external taxation, or to the impoſing of duties on merchandize imported or exported, and to the abſolute regulation thereby of trade and commerce for the good of the whole, we ſhall not ſuppoſe that they will ſeriouſly, and obſtinately perſiſt in ſuch a claim of exemption and independence, which would erect the colonies into diſtinct and incompatible ſovereignties. Though
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in this, as in every other point, they ought to acknowledge the tendernefs which has uniformly been fhewn for their particular interefts (not unfrequently at the expence of no inconfiderable interefts of Great Britain) whenever it could be done confiftently with the general; yet we will readily allow, that the wifdom of parliament has not on fuch a complicated fubject, forefeen every inconvenience. But the unremitting attention it has given to relieve them whenever fuch grievances have been difcovered, even at times when the fpirit of faction and difobedience gone forth in America, might have juftified lefs indulgence, fhould infpire them with the moft folid confidence of being chearfully relieved from all real ones of that nature. Let me further propofe, that in confequence of their thorough reconciliation, and compliance with other terms, parliament fhould, as far as may be, alleviate that burden on their trade and commerce, the obligation of landing all their produce, fome few cafes excepted, deftined for foreign markets, and of taking up all
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the licensed articles of foreign goods in the ports of Great Britain. Upon examination it will, I apprehend, be found not inconsistent, either with the spirit of the Navigation Act, or with the true interests of Great Britain, thus intimately united to America, to open to the several Colonies, British markets in foreign countries, under proper restrictions, by factories which are or may be established for all such articles of their foreign exports or imports as shall appear not to prejudice either the trade or manufactures of the mother country. For a more particular view of the plan and reasons for such a relaxation, I beg leave to refer my readers to Governor Pownall's Administration of the Colonies; to whose honest and judicious remarks, I profess to owe most of my ideas on this subject. If thus indulged, the Americans surely will not claim an exemption from such duties on foreign goods, as every inhabitant of Great Britain or Ireland, are bound to pay; nor will they murmur at restrictions on their exports or imports, in favour of the manufactures

factures of these islands, whilst we cheerfully impose on ourselves, similar ones in favour of their products. Let us now examine some of the other grievances alledged. Blinded by the republican spirit of a few seditious leaders, the colonies have of late complained of a standing army maintained amongst them in times of peace. Are they so ignorant of the present state of military affairs throughout Europe, as not to know that their ports, their coasts, nay, their inland settlements, if unprotected by the British navy, would become an easy prey to a few thousand regulars, sent by any foreign power of Europe to lay them waste, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of their boasted militia, though we allow them all the courage and discipline which can belong to any body of that nature? Are they to learn that on such an extended coast, in spite of that navy, an enemy might, unawed by such irregular forces, always difficult to be assembled, and intrinsically weak for want of subordination and experience in the commanders, commit devastations

tions which ages could not repair? whereas they will hardly attempt so hazardous an enterprize in face of a body of regulars, ready at a moment's warning, and commanded by experienced officers, sufficient to back and form a point of reunion for that more numerous, and tolerably disciplined corps of militia. In this case they know no effectual landing to be made without the dangers of a regular resistance, or without the fears of an intercepted retreat. It is well known, that in war the confidence and opinion of the troops, is almost decisive of success; and that no old standing forces ever were in awe in an open country of any militia, though treble their numbers. Shall then the merchants and farmers of America, alone deny the necessity of a permanent regular force in the present state of military affairs, so different from that of former ages, which has, however unwillingly, been acknowledged by the most sanguine patriots and enemies to such establishments. In the last war, the colony militias were singularly useful against the attacks

attacks of Indians, and in protecting the march of regulars through the wilds and woods of the trackless regions of interior America, but have they the presumption to suppose they could have alone resisted the steady efforts of the French regulars? Nothing but the blindest, and most infatuated partiality, can harbour such a thought. The necessity of a competent body of regulars, even in times of peace, which experience shews too often deceitful, in spite of unmeaning clamors, is then self-evident, and must in the eye of reason and sound policy, justify government, whose duty it is to leave no part of our dominions defenceless, in repartitioning the forces allotted by the supreme legislature, in such manner as shall most effectually provide against all hostile attempts. The Americans, their mistaken ideas of internal strength sufficient for self defence, thus justly exploded, can have no pretence to be exempted from providing quarters, and other necessaries, uniformly required from, and complied with by all other his majesty's subjects ;

subjects; and if their assemblies unjustifiably neglect the making such provision, the superintending power of parliament, is certainly justified in making it for them. As to the complaints made against the courts of Admiralty, there is little doubt but parliament will give a willing ear to redress whatever may be unnecessarily grievous in their modes of proceeding, by bringing them, as far as circumstances will allow, to a similarity with those of Great Britain: nor will it, on becoming requisition, refuse to allot more unexceptionable funds for the payment of the salaries appointed for its judges. The province of Massachusetts Bay has murmured much at the alterations made by Parliament in the right of nomination of sheriffs and appointment of juries. Extraordinary privileges unknown to the constitution, if any such can be legally granted by one part only of the legislature, are undoubtedly, when found improper, liable to be repealed by the whole. If former Kings have at any time thought proper to forego their prerogative of nominating

ting sheriffs, or have beyond their real powers altered, without consent of parliament, the constitutional form of appointing juries, their successors, when such privileges or usages are abused to the obstruction of the laws, have a clear right to retract and parliament to annual such indulgences, however long enjoyed. As unreasonable are the complaints of governors, &c. being made independant for their subsistence on the annual will of the assemblies. If, like the parliaments of Britain or Ireland, these subordinate legislatures really had the right of fixing the incomes of these subordinate executive parts of their body, they should like them have shewn themselves worthy of being entrusted with it, by settling at the King's accession, or from time to time, salaries adequate to the importance of the office. Reason shews it unjust to subject them to momentary caprice or ill humour, and wisdom points out a competency as the surest preventative of illegal rapine, which inadequate appointments almost justify. By totally refusing such salaries, as their

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assemblies have unwisely been prompted to do, they have made it necessary for the King and parliament, justly jealous that such dependance in governors may be perverted to the detriment of their rights and interests, to make them a decent provision without their concurrence. And that power, whether of right or indulgence, becomes justly forfeited. With respect to the appointment to all other civil or military offices, as well as the management of all public monies, they should reflect, that the constitution knows no other administrators of executive power, or of public revenues, than the King or such as act under his authority. When parliaments attempted to pass those wise limits, it ended in aristocratical tyranny. Nothing more true than that just maxim of Montesquieu's, that under whatever form of government the executive and legislative powers are blended, despotism is erected. If other less important grievances serve to fill up the measure of their complaints, let me again recall to the remembrance of our fellow subjects in America, the unabating tenderness

tenderness they have ever experienced in the supreme legislature of the mother country ; and let them not repine, when called by it to the full enjoyment of every legal right, at surrendering even privileges, if such can legally subsist, unenjoyed by the inhabitants of Great Britain, if by so doing they can purchase her cordial amity and the continuation of her parental affection. Let me barely mention the pretended grievance founded upon the Quebec bill, as an instance how far the spirit of contest may carry us beyond all bounds. Not content with disputing the claim of parliament to external, as well as internal, taxation, the Americans here assume the right of dictating the measures it shall pursue with respect to acquisitions made by the arms of Great Britain. Tho' they stile themselves the exiles of religious liberty, I am afraid that true spirit of toleration, which begins to penetrate European breasts, has not yet extended its mild influence to our still heated brethren of America. The specious cant of Christian meekness and liberty,

liberty, which they pour forth in their address to the Canadians, will not conceal from them the outrageous clamours they have in every other publication set up against the pretended establishment of Popery in that Colony: nor will they so soon forget that a jury of these their pretended friends and instructors, presented at one time the whole body of Roman Catholics in that province as convict Papists, and thereby liable to all the penal laws at any time enacted against the professors of that religion in Great Britain. Even the dull inhabitants of Canada may perchance suspect no very charitable purpose in that extraordinary step. Hardly will the New Englanders gain much credit with them, by this pious attempt of their brethren, to reduce at one stroke all the property of that province into more enlightened protestant hands. The confirmation of promised liberty of conscience, granted to the Canadians by parliament, will ever do it honour in the eyes of all unprejudiced and sincere Christians: and may the bright example be soon followed by the rulers of every country

try in Europe, of whatever sect they be. The extending to them such, and such only, of the British laws as they yet see the value and utility of, is a shining proof of perhaps the highest wisdom and tenderness of administration ever manifested by any government. Parliament justly conceived that the imposing even benefits against our consent, is tyranny. With equal propriety has it declared itself ready to give them all our laws whenever they shall think them better than their old ones. Tho' it has not yet judged proper to intrust these new subjects with full legislative powers, it wisely holds them up to them, as the reward of their steady adherence to the government and interests of Great Britain.

Let us now throw together, in one view, such concessions or stipulations, either on the part of Great Britain, or of the colonies, as might bid fair to reconcile the present differences; and being solemnly entered into as a national compact, might become a lasting bond of union between all the parts of his Majesty's dominions.

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On the Part of GREAT BRITAIN.

1^{mo}. **P**arliament shall for the future wave all claim of imposing taxes on the internal property of the colonies, other than the accustom'd quit rents of 6 *d.* *per* acre, and the duties of the Post Office.

2^{do}. Parliament shall attend to the petitions of the Colonies respecting the regulation of their trade, or duties to be imposed on their several exports or imports, and give such redress with all convenient speed as the general good of the whole empire may require or permit; and shall indulge the several colonies, for the encouragement of their commerce, in the direct exportation of certain articles of their products, to British factories established, or to be established, in such foreign countries where it shall be found such intercourse will not be detrimental to the produce or manufactures of Great Britain or Ireland; as likewise in the direct importation from the said countries of such foreign commodities

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On the Part of the COLONIES.

1mo. **T**HE Colonies acknowledging, in all other particulars, the legislative, superintending and regulating authority of the British Parliament, shall agree to pay, into the hands of his Majesty's officers of revenue, over and above the accustomed quit rents and post duties, such sums as shall be agreed on in present or future, as proportional aids from the several Colonies towards the general exigencies of the state, to be levied by such modes only of taxation as to their several subordinate legislatures shall seem meet.

2do. The Colonies shall acknowledge the undoubted right of Parliament to impose duties or customs on all exports from, or imports into their several ports, as well for the purpose of raising revenue, as for the regulation of trade : and shall pay obedience to all such laws and regulations as Parliament shall at any time provide for the perception of such duties or customs.

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as do not interfere with those of the said islands, or are not necessary for their manufactures, on payment of such duties as they would have paid in Great Britain or Ireland. Such payments to be made in the manner Parliament shall now or may hereafter direct.

3tho. Parliament shall from time to time fix permanent salaries on his Majesty's governors, lieutenant governors, judges, officers of the Courts of Admiralty, receivers of revenue, &c. and direct the payment of the same out of the national revenues.

4tho. The judges of his Majesty's courts of justice in the several Colonies, shall, as in England, hold their commissions *quamdiu se bene gesserint*.

5tho. The procedures of the Courts of Admiralty shall be, as far as circumstances will permit, made conformable to the laws and customs of said courts in Great Britain :

3^{tho}. The Colonies, where such practice has heretofore been, shall renounce all claim of increasing or diminishing the salaries of his Majesty's governors, judges, &c. at the will of their assemblies: As also all right of appointing the receivers of any revenues raised for the purposes either of interior or exterior government: To prevent all undue influence, either on the part of government, or the Colonies, such salaries being hereafter to be settled by Parliament.

4^{tho}. All sheriffs shall be appointed by his Majesty. And the appointment of juries shall be in all the Colonies, made according to the ancient and known laws of England, any usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

5^{tho}. The Colonies shall provide suitable quarters, and other necessaries, for his Majesty's troops stationed therein agreeable to the laws and customs of Great Britain.

tain: and trials by jury shall be extended to all matters wherein they are so extended by the laws of England within the island of Great Britain.

6to. All the inhabitants of the several Colonies shall enjoy, to all intents and purposes, all the rights and privileges of free born Britons: and Parliament shall, on requisition, redress whatever shall be found contrary thereunto.

6to. On a careful examination and revision of all laws and customs now existing in the several Colonies, they shall, as far as local circumstances will permit, be brought to a conformity with those of Great Britain.

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On thorough inspection into the state of our Colonies, several other objects will occur to the wisdom of parliament, as requiring reform, which I avoid mentioning, as they will fall within the regulating power of parliament, and are virtually included within the above declaration of rights and privileges.

To the consideration of my fellow citizens, and to the revival of better judges, I submit this rude draught of a national compact and bond of union between the now unhappily contesting and divided parts of this great Empire. Happy if it should at least rouse some one of greater and more experienced abilities to devote his unprejudiced labours to the perfecting so great a work. If both sides are requested to wave rights and claims, to which they may think themselves legally entitled, let both well weigh the important advantage of annihilating, ere it is too late, the seeds of future contention and animosity. Let the American Colonies, no longer seduced by
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false ideas of liberty and independance, or intoxicated to giddy madness by the pride of opulence and prosperity, acquired and secured to them by, and under the support and guidance of the mother country, seriously reflect, that tho' already populous and strong with retrospect to their infant state, they are yet weak and thinly inhabited with reference to the extent of their continent, and with comparifon to European countries; that consequently their protection depends upon the vigour and support of the parent state, and their future progress on its amity and countenance. It is on the basis of her naval power that their country, their commerce have become thus flourishing. They cannot hope to rival her dominion on the Atlantic. She has it in her power to cut them off from the most distant expectation of it. Should she withdraw the communication of the advantages arising from that dominion, their every spring of affluence would be instantly dried up, whilst her commerce and active genius embracing the whole compass

compass of the globe, would in every part of it open abundant, tho' yet untried, sources of opulence. Should she withdraw that protection it affords, or, what is still worse, should that naval strength, defrauded of part of its accustom'd aliment, wither and decay, their puny efforts would become the easy prey of deceitful friends, who at no distant period would become their overbearing and irresistible tyrants. Let Great Britain, rejecting the pride of dominion, and presumptuous confidence of power, reflect, that by a rupture with America, and consequent destruction of its rising importance, she must lose, at a time when she can least spare it, a lucrative and extensive branch of commerce, which at best a long series of years only can replace: that by refusing, by a few concessions, to cement her union with her own offspring, she relinquishes the glorious hope, by means of that unrival'd and increasing source of trade, of rising to a height of power, importance, and riches hitherto unprecedented in the annals of the most extensive Empires,

Empires. Let her consider that, tho' her power may force to present submission, yet there will come a time when her utmost exertion will not be able to retain in subjection outnumbering millions of disaffected subjects. Happily the seeds of contention have shewn themselves at a time when each is too visibly necessary to the other ; let both then eagerly seize the occasion of forever routing them out, and of cementing an union of constitution and of interests which no jarring differences shall hereafter endanger ; that union which can alone raise them to that magnitude of power of which so many glorious circumstances give them such well grounded hopes. Happy I have been to find a great and able (I wish I could say a dispassionate) Statesman opening in an august assembly, a plan at least of reconciliation, tho' in truth it seems to have been dictated by the late congress itself : we may hope it introductory to one of his own framing, less partial and exceptionable. However much I reverence his authority, and those superior talents which will ever
claim

claim respectful attention, I must beg leave to differ totally from his Lordship in one primary point. He has proposed that this important negociation should, on the other side the Atlantic, be managed by a grand and legally authorised American congress; perhaps the late one reassembled, which he thinks proper to cite in the proposed Act, tho' certainly hitherto unauthorised by any law. Does his lordship not foresee (for I cannot suppose he would designedly throw an undue balance into the hands of even his favorite Americans) that such a congress, uniting all America under one head, would be certainly not a center of that filial deference which he still holds due to the mother country, but of obstinate and froward resistance to her most unquestionable rights. By giving a legal existence and sanction to an union of interests and power to all America as opposed to Great Britain, we should present it with the legal instrument and means of further usurpations on the authority of this country, whenever factious leaders should

should incline to raise themselves into importance. Thus confirmed in their most sanguine ideas of distinct independance, thus effectually erected into an equal contracting party, and looking more to the extent than to the real strength of the country it represented, that congress would no longer present their grievances for redress to parliament as from a part of the same empire, but as a free state would negotiate alliance with all the arrogance of new acquired dignity. No! let parliament, after having calmly and impartially, and in the true spirit of justice and policy, considered what points in contest should be given up, what maintained, with becoming dignity and parental tenderness, declare with the utmost precision and perspicuity the proposed terms of reconciliation, and future union to the several assemblies of each Colony convened for that purpose, ready to receive with indulgence such as shall acquiesce, but determin'd and prepar'd to cut off from all communication with Great Britain and the rest of the world, such

as still continue obstinately deaf to its mild and equitable proposals. To do this, in my apprehension, land forces in the field are neither proper nor adequate. They may irritate to blood, and that once spilt may be a fruitful source of endless confusion, more likely to lead to the ruin of the country than to the re-establishment of authority. If ring-leaders are to be seized, they will easily escape from an army which cannot safely send out small detachments; if riots are committed, or factious meetings held in one part, they will be removed to another before an army can come up either to disperse or punish the offenders. The only real service, and that certainly is of great importance, troops can in such a vast and extended country perform, is the securing of the fortresses and sea-ports, and affording due protection and retreat to such of his Majesty's subjects as shall continue firm in their allegiance. But a sufficient number of sloops and frigates properly stationed may soon shew the provinces who shall remain refractory, how insignificant
 their

their boasted strength of numbers, how soon even want may overtake their fancied self-sufficiency of existence, how soon every source of their imagined affluence and riches may be cut off when not a ship shall dare to put to sea or enter their harbours. When they shall perceive that the attentive foresight and encouragement of government amply supplies the wants of the West-India islands, either in lumber or provisions, from the Floridas, Georgia, Canada, and such other Colonies as their own true interest will early sway to submission: when they shall see that administration has found means to keep up the Newfoundland fishery undiminished, by holding up proper advantages to the obedient Colonies and to the enterprising merchants of Great Britain and Ireland, they will then be convinced that, tho' theirs is absolutely dependant on our naval power, the extent of our commerce will ever find abundant resources independant of their little aid. They will then plainly view in their fruitless resistance the loss of their best trades diverted into new channels from whence it is so difficult to force a return ;

and

and those Colonies on whom they looked with a jealous or contemptuous eye, rising into vast importance on their ruin. They will then begin to dread (what is perhaps a real truth) that Great Britain, so far from sustaining any permanent loss by their desertion, will in a short time be a real gainer, by thus bestowing quick activity and vigor on her infant southern Colonies and those adjoining, who will not long be blind to their own good ; Colonies whose produce and trade are more beneficial and more consonant to the real interests of her commerce. When those vain dreams their seducers have industriously raised, shall be dispelled, when such a mortifying situation, and such menacing prospects shall forcibly strike their eyes, there is little doubt but our now overhearted, but sharp-sighted transatlantic brethren, will soon return to that due obedience which in the hour of frenzy they seem to have foresworn.

May such happy effects early give the noblest triumph to the calm firmness, the foresight, undoubted integrity, and I trust,

no less humane policy of that great minister, who now sits at the helm. May he thus reconcile to his administration, those few true friends to the public, who in opposing not vigorous, but what they feared wore the face of violent measures, sought only the glory and recompence of serving their country; and may he thus silence the interested clamours of those pretended patriots, who would not hesitate to mount up to riches and honours, on the ruins of this distracted, and divided empire. Unambitious of sharing either in the honours, or in the profits, should the zealous friend to his country, who amidst the agitations of the most tempestuous sea, has thus ventured out his little bark, in the fond hopes of saving, though the smallest plank, from total wreck, have fortunately hit upon any point worthy of the consideration of the minister, or of the nation, he will have had his reward: supremely happy, if on any plan, by whomsoever given, he may live to see the solid foundations laid of a permanent union and concentration of interests

terests between the mother country, and her Colonies, on which he is persuaded their mutual growth, and future grandeur must depend. By clearly defining, and even limiting the authority of Parliament, as well as the dependance of America, consistently with liberty and the powers of empire, he hopes from a higher quarter steps are already taking worthy of the justice and magnanimity of this nation. Would the present times permit it, he owns in his opinion, a still more intimate union practicable. It is yet a question calling for the most serious investigation, whether an absolute coalition of Great Britain, Ireland, and America, under one great parliamentary head, representing the whole, is not the only means of preserving from future, and on all hands, justly apprehended, dismemberment of this widely extended empire; whether it is not the only foundation on which to rear that glorious elevation of power and prosperity, of which firmly united, it is conceived capable. By that pityful dependence in which we keep
Ireland

Ireland (by many looked upon as the greatest error in politics ever persisted in for so long a time by a wise nation) we certainly throw out of the common mass of power, one half of its importance : and by persevering in the same narrow views, with regard to America, we shall give it not one quarter of its consequence, and probably prepare at some not very distant period, a total separation of that little from the general interest. Is it probable that America, whenever she shall come to contain three times the number of inhabitants as can subsist in this island, will quietly submit to see herself an inferior and dependant Province, controll'd and regulated by its decrees ? but if united in power, as well as obedience, she will then no more think of separating, than does the province of York, because larger than the others. She will not then consider herself as one great continent, oppressed by a comparatively insignificant part of the whole, but each Colony and Province will then look upon itself as one of many Provinces under one head,

head, possessing in concert the greatest, and the noblest dominion recorded in the annals of history.

The American provinces still retaining their assemblies as corporate bodies within the realm for the internal and local regulations of police and government, the other so much talked of inconveniences arising from distance, will not perchance on due consideration be found an objection to such a scheme, at least not such a one as will outweigh the great and superior advantages of an absolute union under one constitutional head of all the parts of this vast and growing empire; which, however disjunct by nature, might and would be firmly connected by that sovereignty of the seas, which it would uphold and extend, and which would virtually bring all parts into contact. This is a circumstance peculiar to us, and unknown to all former empires, and which would therefore justify a deviation from all former systems of colony government. If a minister shall be found, whose

whose integrity, firmness, and abilities shall be equal to raise so glorious a fabric, we may safely prognosticate, that whatever virulence of opposition he may be forced to struggle through, the united voices both of the present and all future ages will proclaim him the greatest man, and the true founder of the greatest empire the world ever saw. May our present Premier have the spirit and generous ambition to contend for, and the abilities and good fortune to bear away that noblest of all prizes.

POSTSCRIPT.

H

P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE these sheets were sent to the press, the writer has had the satisfaction of seeing an enlightened minister propose, and parliament resolve, a renunciation of all claim of future internal taxation within the colonies whenever they shall return to their duty. The virulence with which the pretended patriots declaim'd, and the effrontery with which they voted against a measure which they had a few days before called for with so much energy of popular eloquence, and which was in fact the only reasonable foundation on which to ground their opposition, must at length open the eyes of the few wellwishers to the real good of the nation, who have been deluded by their enthusiastic outcries of cruelty, injustice, and impending ruin. As vainly do they now brand administration with inconsistency and weakness. No new danger, no new appearance of the irresistible strength of America, gives the smallest room

room for new fear or apprehensions on the side of ministry, now strengthened by the concurrence of a clear and great majority of the nation, and furnished by parliament with every means of reducing opposition by force, if force should prove necessary. No; with equal resolution and prudence the minister now holds up, with a dignity becoming this nation, reconciliation and amicable union to such Colonies as shall return to duty, and condign chastisement to such as, on the pretence only of a plea, on which indeed wisdom herself might justly pause, have in fact laboured to set up the the standard of real rebellion. In spite of faction and violence, every true friend to his country will with rapture now foresee (this only stumbling block removed) the surest blow given to that sedition, which has been industriously raised by a few men at home, or abroad, who through the horrid devastations of civil war and bloodshed, would have waded to importance. Their only hope of eternising divisions, though on the ruins of the best interests of this country,

country, thus blasted, can we wonder at the frantic rage with which they tell us it is a base contrivance of the minister, to divide the colonies? Yes we do hope most, if not all of the Colonies, will eagerly seize this occasion of returning to that filial reverence they owe, and in their hearts have ever felt for their parent country, and of shewing their abhorrence of those men, who under the pretext of one doubtful point of right, would have run them into the wildest extremities of disobedience and rebellion. The noble Lord, who regardless of their impotent and sarcastic taunts of pusillanimity, stepp'd forth in this sad crisis of his country, to make this truly patriotic and conciliatory motion, will I doubt not with indulgence, listen to such objections as may be started against its concluding clause. It is there said, that the neat produce of the duties which it may be expedient to continue to levy, or to impose for the regulation of commerce, shall be carried to the account of such Colony, or Province, respectively, were it shall arise. The

terms

terms of this important accommodation, of this reunion of interests between the mother country and her Colonies, should not wear the face of temporary, or palliative expedients, leaving behind them the seeds of future contention, but should be evidently such as may form the basis of a permanent and equitable compact to succeeding ages; a compact whereby every right is definitively settled, whereby the particular interests of each, are by some invariable rule comprehensive of, and pliant to every possible situation adjusted to the general. In respect to internal taxation, such a rule I take to be the mode of proportional aid I have proposed in the foregoing sheets, and such to be, in respect to external, moderate and reasonable duties on imports and exports, naturally rising or falling as these increase or decrease. Besides the yearly inconvenience of ascertaining, and calculating anew, the produce of so variable a fund, to which, to make up the totality of the quota at which each Province is rated, interior taxes must be annually

annually adjusted, I beg leave to observe, that internal impositions, ever the most grievous, and most severely felt, must in this case encrease or diminish in direct inverse ratio of the true abilities of such Province. If at any time trade, and consequently the duties arising from it, is decreased, it is a certain proof, that those internal abilities are lessened: If on the contrary, by more abundant products, and more successful commerce, the duties rise higher, it is evident that the Colony can with proportionably greater ease, bear its usual burden.

Interior taxation should more naturally follow the progress of interior acquisitions and products, whilst commerce in America as in every other country, should be its own barometer to fix the quantum of imposition it can bear. Let us now examine the effects of such a stipulation with a view to equality and proportion with the abilities of Great Britain and such other American Colonies as may be at various times differ-

differently circumstanced. Under the fostering wing of Great Britain, America has before it the glorious prospect of quick increasing population, wealth and commerce: at least several of its provinces are so happily circumstanced. By the great consequent extension of their trade the duties levied for its regulation, however moderate in themselves, may possibly in the space of half a century in some one Province or Colony, nearly if not quite equal or even exceed the whole amount of that aid which can at this time be fixed as a quota proportional to its present abilities. In that case the inhabitants of such province would be totally exonerated of all internal taxes, whilst Great Britain, and such other Provinces of America whose progress should not be so rapid, would be struggling under the pressure of heavy both internal and external taxation. No real equality would then subsist; and can it be supposed the oppressed would not demand relief, and thus open a door to discord and faction. If suffered to continue without redress,

redress, such a Colony would in the end depopulate all the others, and in time Great Britain itself. It should not be forgot that some even considerable Colonies are without a convenient port, and obliged to send their products to those of their neighbours; how would then those duties be adjusted to the internal exoneration of Colonies so circumstanced, without frauds or contentions. It may not be amiss likewise to observe, that by this clause we seem to give up the right of external as well as of internal taxation. Agreeable to justice on account of local situation, I should apprehend the latter claim should be explicitly renounced; whilst the former right founded on Great Britain's undoubted dominion on the Atlantic ocean, should be as strenuously and as openly maintained.

F I N I S.

